

IS THERE AN AMERICAN IN THE HOUSE?—BY DAVID CORT

THE *Nation*

July 10, 1954

20¢

The Great Atomic Giveaway

by **Leland Olds**

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

Is Coexistence Respectable? *J. A. del Vayo*

Guatemala Guinea Pig

Freda Kirchwey

Program for Insecurity

H. H. Wilson

JUL 10 1954
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Johnson City, Tennessee

Letters

Latin America and the Guatemala Crisis

Dear Sirs: Whatever the final results of the crisis in Guatemala may be, a significant new chapter in Inter-American relations has begun.

The first reaction in Latin America to the invasion of Guatemala was a popular and spontaneous indignation against the United States. This was manifested uniformly throughout the continent: in Chile, Panama, Uruguay, Cuba, Bolivia, Mexico. Even in Honduras—accused by Guatemala as the main supporter and base of operations for the invading army—the university students expressed their solidarity with the Guatemalan cause through strikes and public manifestations. In Argentina, the main opposition party, Unión Cívica Radical, expressed a vote of solidarity for Guatemala. Two days later, the Péronist party introduced a bill in the Chamber of Deputies inviting all the parliaments of the American continent to take collective action in order to help Guatemala find peace and reach economic independence. Similar resolutions were passed in Chile and Uruguay. Most of the newspapers in all the South American countries also expressed their sympathy for the government of Colonel Jacobo Arbenz.

However, the most extraordinary reactions took place among the people of these countries; even among those normally passive. In Venezuela, for example, a country which has profited most by infusions of United States capital, it would be hard to find an opinion adverse to the Guatemalan government. Signs of *Viva Guatemala—Muera la United Fruit* may be seen all over Caracas. At Sears Roebuck, the most important store in this city, the customers who had always bought United States merchandise in preference to any other have suddenly refused to buy American-made goods. It should be noted that Sears Roebuck here, caters mostly to the middle and upper classes.

In this tragic moment for the Guatemalan nation, everyone points accusingly at the United States. Whether one sympathizes with the socialist policies of the Arbenz government or not, no one should underestimate the effect of the conflict on Inter-American relations. People are talking about the rebirth of "big stick diplomacy." Opportunist and unscrupulous military servants may always be found in Latin America. However, the results in Guatemala will not enhance the already waning prestige of the United States among the people of the neighboring republics.

All unbiased information to have come out of Guatemala confirms the belief that the government was not subject to the orders of the local Communist Party nor those of Moscow. The Archbishop of Mexico stated that he did not believe the insurrection was motivated by reaction to communism. He added that the communism which has infiltrated this continent does not represent a menace to the peace and sovereignty of the American nations.

For those who have always worked for democracy in our countries, the Guatemalan conflict has come as a severe and sad shock. The experience is more bitter because we have always looked to American democratic procedure as an example to be followed. Sometimes, after much effort, progress has been achieved, but it has seldom endured. For this reason the Guatemalan conflict comes as convincing proof that the Department of State has decided that "democracy" is to be achieved with the aid of undemocratic governments.

F. LLERANDI

Caracas, Venezuela

More on Waldo Frank

Dear Sirs: In Waldo Frank's brilliant and challenging article, "The Anti-Communist Peril," he stresses that a political party which does not share the false mechanistic and exclusively economic values of communism must be "matrixed in the adequate life-values and knowledge of man's nature in which alone sound economic and political action must grow." The point is well taken and eloquently developed. But to the question of what are those adequate life-values and what is their basis, Mr. Frank gives no explicit answer. In his references to the "Judaean-Christian tradition," "love of life," and to the writings of Reinhold Niebuhr, I take it that he is referring to Christian ethics with its roots in Judaism. It is this reference which I should like to discuss.

My question is: Does Christian ethics in itself provide the "adequate life-values and knowledge of man's nature" which must be the foundation of a political party? Does it delineate social justice? Does it say what the functions of a good society are, how far it should regulate actions of individuals, and what rights of the individual it should protect? And the answer is that its primary concern lies elsewhere.

Christian ethics, no matter how splendidly compelling its ideals of love and universal brotherhood, does not answer these questions because it is an individual ethics. It is concerned with how the individual may live best within any society, even under the oppressive yoke of

the Romans in Palestine, or—I might add—under the spiritual injustices of *laissez-faire* capitalism. It does not deal with the ways in which society must be changed if social justice is to be realized.

What is implicit in Christianity's concept of doing good to others must be made explicit. For the values of the good and complete life are also values of achievement and of development of abilities—esthetic, intellectual, technical, or social—which make men able to do good to themselves and others. And activities must have an outlet in society, a welcome and protection in economic and social conditions. Consequently, any adequate life-values must extend to the conditions of society. A complete ethics must be a social ethics, as a long line of philosophers have attested.

Perhaps Mr. Frank would grant the points I have indicated. And perhaps, too, he is more in agreement with John Dewey's philosophy than he recognizes in his article. Dewey also wrote of the basic similarity of *laissez-faire* capitalism and communism, both being "collectivisms" which rule out the active contribution of the individual. He criticized Marxist economic determination for its "ignoring of human qualities" and providing no theory of human nature; and he, also, criticized *laissez-faire* capitalism for its disastrous neglect of esthetic and intellectual values. Finally, he too would say that the most effective basis of a sound society is a pervasive creation of positive life-values.

EDITH W. SCHIPPER

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Miami, Florida

Dear Sirs: For some time I have been intending to write to you to express my admiration for your courageous and independent magazine. The article by Waldo Frank seems a good occasion.

It was good to read an article by at least one person who does not seem to have been cowed by the McCarthy camp. It seems to me that many liberals are so busy covering their intellectual tracks of the last twenty years, so busy dreaming up liberal reasons for backing reactionary measures, that they have no thought or inclination towards constructive criticism of our present political, social, and cultural predicament. I would yet like to hear someone stand up and say that maybe Oppenheimer was not "naive" or "innocent" in his association with left-wingers during the thirties. Could the man who headed the Los Alamos Project be expected to get his political ideas from some less "naive" thinker—say Herbert Hoover?

The liberal movement at this time seems to be in great danger of steering so far from the Charybdis of the Left that it will soon be devoured by the Scylla of the Right. Mr. Frank's article will perhaps awaken some to this danger.

Lanark, Illinois

TED KINNAMAN

Guatemala Guinea Pig . . *Freda Kirchwey*

ADMINISTRATION officials from President Eisenhower down have made no effort to conceal their satisfaction at the overthrow of the legally elected government of Guatemala. This is not surprising. Washington's hostility to the leftist regimes that have held office in that country since the downfall of the Ubico dictatorship in 1944 has been fairly consistent. It increased to a new pitch of intensity, however, during the administration of President Jacobo Arbenz. Long before the Caracas conference last March the State Department was busy popularizing the idea that the Arbenz government was Communist or at the very least Communist-controlled. The department backed to the hilt the resistance of the United Fruit Company to the terms on which the government was expropriating areas of uncultivated banana lands; and by doing so challenged in effect the whole legal basis of Guatemala's land reform. Right-wing Senators echoed the Administration's line. As early as January 14 Senator Alexander Wiley, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, charged that Guatemala had "become a serious beachhead for international Communism in this hemisphere." A few weeks later he referred to the expulsion from Guatemala of two United States journalists as the "latest sickening demonstration of the Communist octopus at work." News reports obviously stemming from State Department sources began explaining that the time was at hand when "we" would have to do something about the "Communist threat in Guatemala"; the question was only when and how. And Assistant Secretary of State John Moors Cabot said in so many words, though without naming names, that the test for determining United States policy toward Latin American countries was whether they were with us or against us.

As the campaign against Guatemala built up, the resentment of the Arbenz government naturally mounted too. On January 30 it announced in a communique that a plot had been prepared to invade Guatemala and overthrow the regime. The statement said that the conspirators were supported by Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Venezuela, and also the "government of the North"; and that the United Fruit Com-

pany had supplied arms for the planned invasion. Later the charge against Nicaragua was withdrawn. Among the individuals implicated were Lieutenant Colonel Carlos Castillo-Armas (who led the rebellion last month and is now a member of the ruling junta) and General Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes, another of the chief figures in the current crisis.

The State Department dismissed Guatemala's charges as too ridiculous to answer, and no evidence was published to prove that the United States was directly involved. But when President Arbenz a few days later accused United States Senators, State Department officials, and American newspapers of instigating a concerted attack against Guatemala, not only at home and in Latin America but "throughout the world," the charge could be documented. Guatemala also bitterly reproached the State Department for linking it with the "international Communist conspiracy," pointing out that it had repeatedly denied that it was Communist or in any way subservient to Moscow.

CARACAS was the climax. By a very shrewd mixture of warnings, reassurances, and promises, Secretary Dulles overcame the outspoken reluctance of a majority of the delegates, who plainly feared intervention more than Communism, and shoved through his resolution calling for a consultative meeting in case the "political institutions of any American state" became dominated "by the international Communist movement." Guatemala ably opposed the measure as one directed against itself. But in the showdown seventeen delegates voted with Dulles, many of them solemnly echoing his assurance that the resolution did not invade sovereign rights or sanction intervention. Two states, Mexico and Argentina, abstained. Only Guatemala voted no, and Mr. Dulles remarked after the final ballot: "The fact that one American nation voted against the resolution shows how necessary it was that the conference should have acted as it did. Now, of course, we shall have the task of assuring that the enemies of freedom do not move into the breach which has been disclosed in our ranks."

These words may have been the death warrant of the

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

- Guatemala Guinea Pig
by Freda Kirchwey 21
- Program for Insecurity
by H. H. Wilson 23
- Profitable Failures 24

ARTICLES

- Coexistence: A Respectable Word?
by J. Alvarez del Vayo 24
- Hong Kong and the China Trade
by C. P. Fitzgerald 25
- Is There An American in the House?
by David Cort 28
- Stealing the Atom:
The Private-Power Plot
by Leland Olds 30
- Balance of Terror:
Weighing U. S. Policy
by Arnold Bernhard 32

BOOKS

- Theory and Practice of Peace
by Mark S. Watson 34
- Ickes: Volume II by Bruce Catton 35
- New Books in Brief 36
- ART by S. Lane Faison, Jr. 37
- RECORDS by B. H. Haggin 38
- CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 575
by Frank W. Lewis 40
- LETTERS opposite 21

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Arbenz government. Certainly when the United States denounced Guatemala for buying arms from Poland—after having refused to sell Guatemala any arms at all and having prevented the shipment of arms from neutral nations—its charge of Communist penetration and its exaggerated indignation offered clear evidence that the "one American nation" which had breached unanimity at Caracas was not going to be allowed to survive by its own efforts.

ONE day the whole story will be told. Some honest unbiased diplomat who rode out the storm in Guatemala City or some energetic newsman will fit together and expose the series of plots and intrigues that finally brought down the government of Guatemala and set a military junta in its place. But now we simply do not know the facts. The deposed leaders openly blame the "government of the North." They insist that the weapons carried by the invading rebels were put in their hands by the United Fruit Company or came from the supplies rushed by the United States into Nicaragua and Honduras after the Polish arms incident. This has been officially denied in Washington and first-hand reports of the equipment carried by the rebels hardly seem to bear it out.

Other stories, some of them from the American side, credit the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency—both Messers Dulles—with organizing and carrying through the political operation which dumped the Arbenz regime. While these seem more plausible and come from better sources, they cannot be accepted as sure. What is sure is that Mr. Peurifoy, the American ambassador to Guatemala, was actively involved in all the final stages of the drama. According to a detailed Associated Press story of June 30, Foreign Minister Toriello called on Mr. Peurifoy the previous Sunday and told him the war could be ended in fifteen minutes "if a military junta were formed and accepted." Toriello said he would step out himself but he urged that President Arbenz be kept in office. Mr. Peurifoy replied that he felt the only solution was "a clean sweep of the Arbenz government." That day Arbenz resigned and his chief of staff, Colonel Diaz, formed a junta to take over. The next day Diaz called on Peurifoy to ask if he could guarantee that Colonel Castillo-Armas would recognize the new junta. Colonel Diaz promised to outlaw the Communist party if he took office, but Mr. Peurifoy, says the A.P., insisted on stronger measures. "Communism must go," he told Colonel Diaz.

Our Ambassador remained to preside over the subsequent shifts from Diaz to Monzon and finally to the combined Monzon-Castillo-Armas junta which remains precariously intact as these words are written. By what right he gave the orders that displaced one government and dictated the politics and composition of its succes-

The NATION

sors we do not know. One can assume, however, that he was instructed to do just that and guess that he or other representatives of Washington were at least as busy in preparing the coup as he was in completing it.

BUT really it is not very important to fix detailed responsibility for the climax of the drama. What seems to us clear without further proof is that the whole massive weight of Washington's influence was marshalled against the left-wing government of Guatemala. Little did the Administration care that that government had been freely elected and represented about 95 per cent

of the voting strength of the country. What the State Department could not tolerate was Guatemala's toleration of Communists in key places—though not in the government itself—and its defiant insistence on following its course of energetic reform along lines which cut into major American interests—though again the reforms were not Communist in character or application. Guatemala was chosen as a test case and a warning. The defeat of the Arbenz government, along with its supporters, has provided a sample of Washington's cold-war strategy in the Western hemisphere. As such it should be studied with care by the other American states.

Program for Insecurity . . . *H. H. Wilson*

GIVEN the premises of the loyalty-security program, the decision of the Atomic Energy Commission to declare Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer a "security risk" is reasonable and logical. The commission by a 3-1 vote has declared Dr. Oppenheimer unfit for "access to restricted data" because of "substantial defects of character and imprudent and dangerous associations." That the decision may seriously weaken the true security of the United States, as implied in the testimony of Mr. John McCloy, becomes irrelevant. Quite rightly the earlier Gray report emphasized that "this case puts the security system of the United States on trial, both as to procedures and as to substance." Beyond demonstrating the ultimate absurdity of a security mania which inexorably leads to insecurity, there are a number of facets in this case which many citizens will find extremely disturbing, if not downright menacing, to the survival of a free society.

The commission explicitly denies that Dr. Oppenheimer is being punished for a difference of opinion on the question of developing the H-bomb. This means, in essence, that no new evidence was submitted to, or considered by, the A. E. C. since Dr. Oppenheimer's clearance in 1947, which was, significantly enough, approved by Admiral Louis L. Strauss, now the commission's chairman. Apart from this one unsupported allegation all of the other information about his associations and activities had been known for years.

In purporting to find "proof of fundamental defects in his 'character,'" the A. E. C. has subjectively evaluated material provided by individuals who were characterized by Dr. Henry De Wolf Smyth, the only qualified scientist on the commission, as professionals, "enthusiastic amateurs" and "powerful personal enemies." In view of the devoted scrutiny given to every action of Dr. Oppenheimer over a period of years, it is most revealing that no objective evidence of a derogatory nature has been submitted. It is revealing, as well, that so heavy a burden is

placed on "associations" in the 1930's, when millions of citizens, including Communists, were deeply concerned about the apparent capitulation to fascism. The so-called "close association with Communists" took place in the period prior to 1942 when the Communists, for whatever motives, were in conflict with nazism and fascism. It is no longer fashionable to recall that many persons who now are being smeared as subversive were actively fighting fascism at a time when many of today's patriots and devout anti-Communists were urging our acceptance of the "wave of the future." Oppenheimer's sympathy and his financial contributions were directed to specific causes which were supported by many to whom Communism was anathema then as now.

In considering a mishmash of testimony purporting to relate to "character" and "associations," the A. E. C. apparently elected to ignore scores of exhibits, never revealed to the public, which clearly indicate the positive anti-Communist position of Dr. Oppenheimer since 1942. It might reasonably have been expected that overriding consideration would have been given the Grey board conclusion that he "seems to have had a high degree of discretion reflecting an unusual ability to keep to himself vital secrets," or the fact of "the undoubted and unparalleled contributions of Dr. Oppenheimer to the atomic energy program." Having renounced such reasonable criteria as the man's unique contribution to American survival and security, it is not surprising that Commissioner Thomas E. Murray should actually make explicit his certainty that such objective and measurable achievements are inadequate to offset the "disloyalty" involved in Oppenheimer's associations, "however innocent in fact" these were.

It cannot be denied that disparate items in the Oppenheimer dossier, arranged to argue a case, do succeed in creating an impression of deliberate "falsehoods, evasions, and misrepresentations." No one, including Dr.

Oppenheimer, would attempt to excuse or to justify the Chevalier incident involving, as it did, temporary concealment of attempted espionage and deception of an intelligence officer. It was a serious mistake eleven years ago, perhaps reflecting the anguished concern for a friend, and it was never repeated. But by any fair test—in Dr. Smyth's words—to "balance his potential contribution to the positive strength of the country against the possible danger that he may weaken the country by allowing important secrets to reach our enemies," the balance must be resolved in favor of Dr. Oppenheimer's continued service.

In his dissent from the opinion of his colleagues on the commission, Dr. Smyth has set forth the only viable standard for evaluating this record. "If one starts with the assumption that Dr. Oppenheimer is disloyal, the incidents which I have recounted may arouse suspicions. However, if the entire record is read objectively, Dr. Oppenheimer's loyalty and trustworthiness emerge clearly, and the various disturbing incidents are shown in their proper light as understandable and unimportant."

Profitable Failures

It is commonly argued that taxes on corporate profits discourage the employment of venture capital. Maybe so, but there are times when wealthy concerns risk their money knowing that in the event of failure their losses will be largely compensated by offsetting tax credits. For instance, the National Steel Corporation a few years ago invested a good many millions in the Weirton Mine, a West Virginia coal operation. "Extremely difficult mining conditions" were encountered, and in June, 1953, the mine was closed down. Later in the year it was sold to the Pittsburgh Consolidation Coal Company, which reports that it has no plans to resume operations and has transferred Weirton's equipment and machinery to some of its other properties.

The annual report of National Steel for 1953 indicates a gross loss on this unsuccessful venture of \$7,469,303. However, after taking account of a tax credit, the net loss was \$1,160,050. In other words, roughly six-seventh of the risk was borne by Uncle Sam and only one-seventh by the company.

COEXISTENCE

A Respectable Word? . . by J. Alvarez del Vayo

United Nations

THE Eisenhower-Churchill talks, observed the Manchester *Guardian*, were marked by "common anxieties, not common politics." The talks are over and the anxieties remain. One phrase in the joint communique can be interpreted as an American victory: the passage which rejects in advance any East-West agreement that would confirm the present status of "formerly sovereign states now in bondage." But on the whole the communique shows indisputably that the British maintained their positions on all major issues.

There is also no doubt that the occasion was a personal triumph for Sir Winston, whose extraordinary performance was watched everywhere with admiration and a kind of affectionate amusement which he always seems able to inspire. On Americans especially, who are inclined to think that life ends at sixty, this man of seventy-odd years who displays more spiritual and intellectual

strength than most living politicians half his age, left an indelible impression. Doubtlessly Washington resented the firmness of his attitude on the basic issue: negotiate or fight. It was an attitude of transcendent importance for the future of international politics. The mere fact that a Tory of his stature dared to agitate so strongly—and in Washington of all places!—in favor of normal relations with the Communist world was a portentous event. It was also a lesson for those of the Left who either out of hatred for the Communists or fear of being branded as pro-Russian, have actively supported the cold war.

It has been a bad year altogether for the cold-war protagonists. The desire for peace seems stronger and more widespread than ever, and every development tending towards peace seems to have a contagious effect. In France the remarkable rise to power of Pierre Mendès-France has only one explanation: Frenchmen want to see the finish

not only of the Indo-China war but of the cold war. Everywhere in France he is referred to as "*l'homme de la paix*"—the man of peace. It is only on this issue that he has the support of the majority of the Assembly; on any other issue, domestic or international, his majority is likely to fall apart.

In Germany the easing of international tensions and the statements of Churchill and Eden to the House of Commons preceding their departure for Washington cost Adenauer a million votes in the recent Rhineland and Westphalian elections. In Italy the E. D. C. loses ground steadily. In other NATO countries, including Scandinavia, the attitude of the press and radio towards Russia has changed profoundly during the last year. More and more voices are being heard in favor of replacing the cold war by a policy of active relations with the East. Especially in the field of trade this drive is gaining great momentum.

Despite these trends it would be

dangerously naive to believe that the danger of war is over. In certain areas it is rising. The British still feel that peace in Asia is unobtainable so long as China remains outside the United Nations. On this point the Washington talks failed to narrow the gulf between the two countries. Commenting on the "great problem" of readapting American policy to the march of events, Walter Millis wrote in the *New York Herald Tribune*:

While British policy has frequently recognized the virtues of force and while American policy has frequently accepted the desirability of negotiation, as the President did with his acceptance of "co-existence," it is clear that American policy remains much more strongly tinged with the military, and British policy with the negotiatory approach.

On this broad and fundamental issue, too, the Washington conference brought no results. No doubt the disciples of the "policy of strength" will argue that it takes two to negotiate and that so far the Communists have refused to com-

promise. But looking back upon the three-months-old Geneva conference, it is now possible to state as fact that on several occasions Molotov and Chou En-lai advanced suggestions which, in more normal times, would have provided a basis for discussion. But the American concept that Geneva must at all costs not be permitted to turn into an "Asian Munich" led to their rejection. If it had not been for Eden's firm and serene stand and the shift in French policy the conference would have broken down weeks ago.

In a speech at Ottawa Eden suggested that perhaps China was more interested in building up its internal economy than in territorial expansion. The behavior of Chou En-lai since his departure from Washington would tend to confirm this interpretation. Chou's visit to New Delhi, symbolizing the friendship between Asia's two greatest powers, was perhaps to have been expected. But he also visited Rangoon in the company of a high Indian official. It will be remembered that Burma's premier, U Nu, had

vigorously fought the Burmese Communists in the summer of 1952. Yet Burma was the first state outside the Soviet orbit to recognize the Peking government. So Chou's visit to Rangoon can be taken as evidence that negotiation follows recognition, a lesson of which the West might take due note. In the offing for China and Burma is a pact of friendship along the lines of that signed last April between China and India on the subject of Tibet. Chou En-lai is competing with the West for the friendship of the Asian nations, and in so doing he is apparently making great efforts to allay any fears which the phenomenal growth of Communist China's military power may have raised in them.

Thus in the coming months the word "coexistence" may become respectable. It is a unique moment for the liberal, peaceful forces in the United States to regroup themselves around an imaginative and courageous foreign policy. But whether that happens here or not, Churchill's appeal will not go unheard elsewhere in the world.

HONG KONG

Britain's China Trade . . by C. P. Fitzgerald

Melbourne, Australia

STANDING on the Peak at Hong Kong, with his back to the narrow strait which separates the island from the mainland of China, an observer looks out over an extensive archipelago of other islands reaching to the far horizon. For Hong Kong, the British colony, is but one of scores of islands large and small which lie off this part of the Chinese coast. Some are part of the colony, territory ceded to Britain by China in 1841; others are British-leased territory, held on a lease which expires in 1997; the great majority are Chinese territory. All are so intermingled that it is impossible, without a detailed map, to

distinguish British from Chinese territory.

In addition to the adjoining islands the colony also includes the tip of the Kowloon peninsula, the nearest point of the mainland, on which is built the town of Kowloon with its docks and port installations. The strait itself forms the harbor of Hong Kong. Beyond the ceded portion of the peninsula stretches the Leased Territory, often still called the New Territory, which extends some seventeen miles inland. Much of the nearer district is now covered by the expansion of Kowloon town, the only visible indication of the changed status of the territory being a street called Boundary Road. The further district is extremely mountainous with a deeply indented coastline. In this region of the New Territory there are agricultural villages and fishing ports, and since the

war, a mushroom growth of light industrial factories. The Leased Territory on the mainland, like the leased islands, reverts to China in 1997. When that happens the town of Kowloon will be arbitrarily bisected and many of the essential installations of the port and the city will be found to be situated in Chinese territory. In the opinion of residents, it would not be possible to retain the colony as a viable unit when the Leased Territory goes back to China.

Even before those forty-three years have passed Hong Kong cannot live—unless in a most abnormal manner—without the consent of China. The population exceeds two millions, and the mountainous colony and Leased Territory produce barely a tenth part of the daily consumption of food. Almost all the fresh vegetables, and all the meat, as well as much of the fish consumed by

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July 10, 1954

25

Hong Kong's population comes daily from the neighboring districts of China, or, in the case of meat, by ocean freight from distant countries. A blockade of China, as has been proposed by some in the United States, would create a catastrophic situation in Hong Kong, and would inflict upon the inhabitants all the miseries which they might expect from open warfare with China, without doing the Chinese any comparable injury.

When the British government, tired of the inconveniences to which their traders were exposed at Canton, demanded the cession of the barren island of Hong Kong, with its deep-water harbor and small fishing village, they had no intention of founding one of the greatest cities of the Orient. They did not foresee that this naval base would become a huge commercial port dependent for its food supply on sources in foreign territory. Hong Kong, however, just grew. The advantages of a free port, the security of property in an age when internal strife made life unsure in China, the development of large steam vessels which could not ascend the river to Canton, and the great expansion of the trade with China itself contributed to the steady growth of Hong Kong throughout the century, right up to the Japanese invasion in 1941.

THAT invasion rapidly demonstrated another changed aspect of Hong Kong's relation to China. The area which the British in the nineteenth century had deemed amply sufficient to provide a defense in depth for the naval base proved utterly inadequate for such defense in the twentieth century. The Japanese took no more than a week to overrun the entire colony and territory. Even if the British defenders had not been crushed by superior numbers, they would have been forced to surrender for lack of food and water.

If the fate of Hong Kong when attacked by major military forces controlling the mainland was thus illustrated by the Japanese invasion, the subsequent Japanese occupation until the surrender in 1945 provided an example of what must happen to Hong Kong if its normal commerce is suspended for a long period. Allied attacks upon Japanese shipping, the stagnation of trade with Japanese-occupied China, and the im-

possibility of commercial relations with Free China reduced Hong Kong in those years to the last stages of misery and depression. The population dwindled to less than half a million. Food was scarce, firewood almost unprocurable. The unoccupied residences of the interned British or absent Chinese wealthy class were stripped even of their roof beams by fuel seekers. Far more damage was done to the city in this way than by the bombardment which preceded the Japanese conquest.

When the British returned after the Japanese surrender, the prosperity of Hong Kong returned also. This was not wholly the consequence of the admirable work of reconstruction carried out by the colonial authorities, but due still more to the revival of trade, shipping, and the influx of Chinese capital. The population rapidly increased, soon attaining and then far surpassing the maximum of pre-war days. The increasing economic crisis in China, the progress of the civil war, and the consequent flight of capital and enterprise to safe Hong Kong accelerated the development of the colony during the last years of the Nationalist regime. When the Communists triumphed, Hong Kong had a population of more than two millions, many thousands of whom were recent arrivals.

The experiences of the war and post-war periods had made both British and Chinese residents fully aware of the realities of Hong Kong's situation. The British understood that Hong Kong could not be defended against major military power controlling the mainland, and that the colony's economic life depended on free navigation of the seas and trade with China. The Chinese knew that the apparent safe refuge of Hong Kong was a dangerous illusion, dependent on the favor of the regime

which dominated the southern provinces of China. They fled to Hong Kong, but they kept their suitcases packed (metaphorically) ready to go further when the need arose. In the last days of the Nationalists, a current saying neatly illustrated this point of view. "First-class passengers go to the United States; second-class go to Formosa; third-class to Hong Kong."

The third-class passengers were, however, very numerous, and their presence created new difficulties and also opportunities. Already during 1947 and 1948 much Chinese capital had come to Hong Kong and turned to the development of light industry, textile manufactures, and electrical appliances. These new factories sprang up at a rapid rate in the hitherto agricultural and fishing villages of the New Territory, where land was cheaper. With the Communist triumph came thousands of poorer migrants who flooded the labor market and camped on the outskirts of Kowloon in shanty towns of insanitary squalor.

IN the late autumn of 1949 this huge population, rich and poor, Chinese and British, saw the rapid advance of the Communist armies approaching the border of the New Territory, and realized that a situation similar to that which had preceded the Japanese attack was about to reappear. Once again the mainland was coming under the control of a major military power. The climax, however, was almost an anti-climax. The British military forces were withdrawn a mile or more inside the boundary fences, which were left in charge of the civil police. The Chinese Communist forces also refrained from approaching within a few miles of the frontier, where the take-over was accomplished without incident by Communist cadres and civilian police. Hong Kong breathed again; soon the slogan was "business as usual."

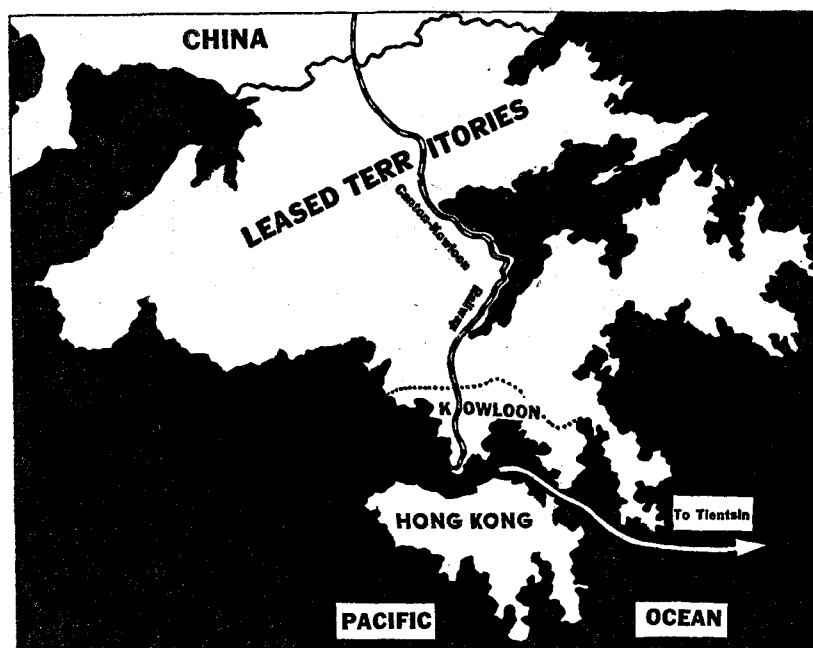
Trade in fact was booming. The Communist port authorities in Tientsin—which owing to the Nationalist blockade of Shanghai was now the principal port for foreign trade—were far more efficient in their dealings with foreign shipping than the departed Nationalists. Freight rates could be reduced owing to the quicker turnover and increased demand for cargoes. The restoration of internal communications in China made



possible the flow of export goods to the ports; the manufactures of Hong Kong, almost entirely a post-war phenomenon, found a ready market in the new China. With business in this happy state, the Hong Kong residents found it easy to take a rather optimistic view of Communist China. The British had had little reason to love the Nationalist regime, which continually made trouble for Hong Kong. The Communists kept a chilly distance, and remained officially aloof, but they caused no trouble in the colony.

The Chinese community, the most vocal part of which was composed of wealthy merchants and industrialists—persons not normally enamored of Communist regimes—were also quite content with what had happened in China. They did not want to live there themselves, but they quickly realized that Hong Kong was too useful to the Communists to be in danger from them. So long as the Nationalists in Formosa, possessed of all that remained of China's naval forces, could blockade the south coast, so long would Hong Kong be the main transfer point for all trade with mainland China. Direct passages from Hong Kong to Tientsin could not be interfered with by the Nationalists on the high seas, and Tientsin itself was beyond the range of their naval power. Moreover, Hong Kong is not only a free port, it is also free from the currency restrictions prevailing elsewhere in the British Commonwealth. This fact rapidly made Hong Kong the financial center and clearing house of the region, through which the New China financed her foreign trade.

THE people of Hong Kong, of either nation, had no urge to go crusading. They did not themselves support Communist doctrine, but they were ready to trade with anyone who could be trusted to pay, and they knew all too well that Hong Kong would be destroyed in the opening rounds of any conflict with China, no matter how the fortunes of war might go thereafter. Consequently they greeted the British recognition of China with enthusiasm, and when a few months later the Korean War broke out, the hope was widely expressed that it would not involve China or Hong Kong. This hope was, of course, not realized; after Chinese intervention became a fact



the British government placed many categories of strategic goods under the embargo, and a large part of Hong Kong's trade with China came to an end. Much more serious was the United States restriction put upon exports to Hong Kong—principally cotton—which threatened to deprive the Hong Kong industries of their sources of raw material irrespective of where the finished product might be sold. These restrictions were, of course, designed to prevent strategic materials and products useful for war purposes from reaching Chinese Communist hands, but their effect was also to prevent the normal operation of Hong Kong's industries and reduce the colony's trade with nations on the democratic side of the Iron Curtain.

Hong Kong merchants saw with growing exasperation and a strong sense of grievance that whereas they were unable to import the materials they required to supply a market outside China, Japan was permitted to carry on trade in certain articles, and to import coal, from China itself. The embargo on shipping certain goods by British ships which trade with China means, in practice, that these strategic materials and products are still reaching China carried in Polish or "neutral" ships. Occasionally a ship is interfered with, but most get through. They are, moreover, entitled by international law to call at such ports as Hong Kong for water, and thus the Hong Kong merchant has the infuriating spectacle of seeing these

ships, which carry the goods he is not allowed to ship to China, lying in his harbor en route to Chinese ports. In addition to all this, he reads in the press that Hong Kong's trade with China is being criticized as a selfish and unprincipled trafficking with the enemy.

In the background of this controversial issue lies the problem of the future of Hong Kong itself. It is certain that neither the present Communist government of China, nor any conceivable alternative government, Nationalist, democratic, or "Titoist" would consent in 1997 to renew the leases upon which the New Territory and some of the islands are now held. In less than half a century Britain must come to some agreement with China upon the future of the residue of Hong Kong: the island itself, the subsidiary islands, and the tip of the Kowloon peninsula. These territories are at present British, but they are untenable in the face of Chinese opposition and useless if separated from the Leased Territories. So long as Hong Kong, conforming to the general policy of Britain, enforces embargoes on free trade with China, and in other ways can be represented as "hostile" to the New China, there can be no expectation of a favorable agreement emerging for the surrender of the colony. In Hong Kong, as in Britain, very few people expect to see any but the Communist government in power in China by the end of the present century. It is with this government that they expect to have to deal; and it is against this government that the

restrictive measures on trade are being enforced.

There would, therefore, appear to be three possible policies for Hong Kong. If the present tension between China and the Western powers is expected to continue and may lead to open war before the end of the century, one course would be to evacuate Hong Kong now, abandoning what cannot be defended. This would inflict hardship on the population, both Chinese and British, and would amount to a manifest retreat in the face of Chinese communism which could have wide and potent repercussions in South East Asia. It would not make sense unless the Western powers intended to follow up this move by

intensified action against China, including a blockade of the coast. If the present situation of partial trade, restrictions, and embargoes continues indefinitely it must be expected that the Chinese will feel little compunction in making things difficult for Hong Kong, and will at the end of the century be in a position to impose most disadvantageous terms when the question of the future of the colony has to be determined.

If a settlement with China were achieved at Geneva or elsewhere which removed the acute causes of dispute, it is certain that British and Hong Kong opinion would insist on a removal of the restrictions on trade, and would endeavor to cultivate better relations with

China so as to prepare the way for an amicable solution of the problem of the colony's future. This policy, of course, definitely implies accepting Communist China as a permanent fact, according it full diplomatic recognition and membership in the United Nations. If such a policy is politically impossible, or at best unattainable at present, it is necessary to recognize that Hong Kong must live, and to live, must trade with China to some degree. Unless the Western powers are prepared either for a retreat or a showdown in the Far East, the continuance of illogical compromises must be accepted and should not be made the cause of disputes and charges of insincerity among the partners.

IS THERE AN AMERICAN

In the House? . . . by David Cort

THERE was a day—one need not go far into history—when an American could not be frightened politically. In that golden age an American entertained absolutely any thought or dogma or iconoclasm that happened to enter his mind, and some of them were very wild. An American knew that all other Americans found their convictions in the American air. An American defied anybody on earth to invade his mind, and did not presume to invade the mind of his neighbor.

That day passed and the Roman degeneration of the republic was confirmed when an honorable magazine said editorially: "Because ideas can lead to betrayal, the impulse toward orthodoxy in a period like ours becomes almost compulsive. Conformity, sameness, and agreement tend to replace originality, diversity, and the free play of opinion as national ideals." For these lines describe an atmosphere that no American

could, or would, breathe. They declare the repeal of the perpetual democratic revolution. And they seem to guarantee that there are no Americans left in America.

If there had been a few Americans present at the McCarthy committee hearings of recent years, it is irresistible to speculate on how one of them would have responded. The following dialogue is certainly not definitive. It is simply a sentimental exploration of what might have happened had this vanished American found himself in the witness chair.

McCarthy: Gliou wham gringle pistlewait fursun ettike olem mommy nissy you wabbit (and so on, for ten minutes. MacCarthy pauses, as if expecting an answer.)

The American: Could you boil that down a little?

McCarthy: It makes me mad deep down may I say when a simple answer to a simple question to expedite this investigation to save this land from Communist subversives I don't know where I find the strength to go on (and so on, for three minutes.) I want an answer: yes or no.

The American: As soon as I hear a

question, I'll give an answer, if I know one. Are you gargling, sir?

McCarthy: If the witness finds these proceedings funny, I'd like to know it. What are you—an intellectual?

The American: Don't be deceived because I speak better English and have better manners than you, sir. I'm just as common as you. Maybe commoner.

McCarthy: I see. You want the protection of the Fifth Amendment to keep you from incriminating or degrading yourself.

The American: I'm not afraid of self-incrimination. But degradation—that's different. I don't propose to testify in any way that would degrade me in the eyes of my friends.

McCarthy: Well, we'll give you a chance to use the Fifth Amendment. Are you a Communist?

The American: I am not now, never have been, and never will be in any foreseeable future a member, associate, affiliate, co-traveler, puppet, stooge or whatever, of the Anarchist, Syndicalist, Trotskyite, Lovestoneite, Communist, Fascist, or National Socialist parties of this or any other country. Does that cover it?

McCarthy: I didn't ask you about

DAVID CORT was foreign editor of Life for ten years and later feature editor of the United Nations World. He is the author of "The Big Picture," a current Nation's Choice selection, and other books.

those last two parties. Let them be stricken from the record.

The American: I flatly forbid that. To do so would degrade me by putting me in a class with the chairman of this committee.

McCarthy: Who does this witness think he is, giving orders to the committee stenographer?

The American: I'll tell you. I'm a member of the sovereign power under this form of government. I considerably outrank you. The sovereign power occasionally delegates, but never alienates, certain rights. A long time ago we gave fairly broad privileges to the members of the United States Senate. We reserve—and have always reserved—the option of cancelling those broad privileges if they become a matter of sinister abuse, tending to endanger the whole operation of our government and the dignities of the sovereign power.

McCarthy: Gliou wham gringle pistlewait fursun ettike (and so on . . .)

The American: This is one proposition you will have to meet head-on. Acting like a greased pig or a gopher or a schizophrenic paranoid will get you nowhere. I repeat, I am a member of the sovereign power. Hear that, and remember that.

McCarthy: Gliou wham gringle pistlewait . . . Are you or are you not an anti-anti-Communist?

The American: That's not a simple question but I'll give you a simple answer. In some cases and some circumstances, I have been an anti-anti-Communist just as in certain circumstances I have been an anti-anti-Fascist, and during Prohibition in this country I was anti-anti-alcoholic. The circumstances are determined somewhat by the nature of the Communist, Fascist, or alcoholic whom the antis are anti. Sometimes the antis are fakes, and their victims have not been Communists, Fascists, or alcoholics at all. In those cases, I have automatically been anti-anti.

McCarthy: You're anti-McCarthy. And I think it's fairly well-known that I'm an anti-Communist.

The American: On the contrary. A genuine anti-Communist would have asked the help and advice of most of the people you have persecuted. Some of them would actually know a Communist when they saw one, as you have not yet proved you do. To call twenty

years of Democratic administration twenty years of communism is obviously subversive. You are clearly a subversive, though not of the Kremlin variety.

McCarthy: Name-calling will get you nowhere. You have admitted to being an anti-anti-Communist. I want that on the record for action by the Attorney General.

The American: So do I. America has been anti-anti from the beginning. Abraham Lincoln was anti-anti-Negro but that didn't mean, as his enemies said, that he was hankering to run after young Negresses. Washington and Jefferson were anti-anti-people and fought a Revolution to prove it. In 1917 we were anti-anti-Belgians and Czechs and Serbs and Rumanians but we didn't expect them, automatically and forever, to be perfect democrats just by saying the words "self-determination of peoples" over them. In 1931 and 1941 we were anti-anti-Chinese. As far as Hitler went, we were anti-anti-people but you can even be that today without thinking that all the people in the world are still wonderful after the age of five. America today is anti-anti-peace, anti-anti-freedom and anti-anti-American. The anti-antis are generally for people.

McCarthy: These Communist subversives we're ferreting out are people. Are you for them? That's what I'm trying to find out.



Des Moines Register

"He was getting a big kick out of watching the McCarthy hearings on TV until he realized these are the men who are running the government. . . ."

The American: As people, I am for them, as people. Especially these college boys who decide they're Communists for a year or two and then decide they can make some better sense out of their lives.

McCarthy: So now you want to subvert our precious American youth.

The American: We put a boy in college to try to get him to think. The best way he knows to think is generally to disagree with all the adults. I'm for him, no matter what idiotic thought he thinks he thought for a couple of years there. And I'm certainly against anybody who's against him, either then or ten or twenty years later.

McCarthy: This is open and shameless treason.

The American (laughing): I thought it would sound peculiar to you. That's not treason; it's ancient Americanism. Probably sounds just like treason to you, no doubt.

McCarthy: I know just as much about Americanism as you do, and probably a little more.

The American: Well, perhaps. America is so magnanimous it accepts even second-class citizens such as yourself.

McCarthy: So you're bringing in race prejudice?

The American: No, prejudice prejudice. First-class citizenship is open to anybody of any race, creed, or color or parentage or place of birth who roughly understands and accepts the American system, the American dream, and the American constitution. You have deliberately and consciously opted for second-class citizenship—and that is your right under a democracy. You do not believe that the citizen is sovereign over the state. Get back in the second-class coaches, boy.

McCarthy: I'll get you if it's the last thing I do.

The American: My last word to you about America is this. Americanism is not afraid. It is not afraid of communism or fascism. It will eat communism and you, possibly both together, possibly one at a time.

McCarthy: Gliou wham gringle pistlewait fursun ettike olem memmy nissy you wabbit . . . (The American closes his eyes and dreams and presently fades away into a shadow, which faintly darkens the witness chair and then is gone, nobody knows whither.)

GREAT ATOMIC GIVEAWAY

The Private-Monopoly Bill . . by *Leland Olds*

WHAT would the atom bomb in the hands of private monopoly mean to the world's future? This sounds like a far-fetched question; no one directly proposes to turn the super-weapon over to private interests. Yet the pending Cole-Hickenlooper bill to amend the Atomic Energy Act offers an equivalent threat to our civilization. Hearings on the bill have been completed by the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy and, as I write, the committee is preparing to push it through Congress before the midsummer adjournment.

The Atomic Energy Act of 1946, the famous McMahon act, reveals in its very first section its authors' sense of the profound significance of the new forces with which we are dealing:

The effect of the use of atomic energy for civilian purposes upon the social, economic, and political structures of today cannot now be determined. It is a field in which unknown factors are involved. . . . It is reasonable to anticipate, however, that tapping the new source of energy will cause profound changes in our present way of life.

These wise words, the basis for the general declaration of atomic policy which follows, would be stricken from the law by the proposed Cole-Hickenlooper amendments. The authors of today's bill would apparently resolve all doubts by substituting private for public monopoly over this greatest of all energy resources.

This fact in itself could prove a delayed-action political and economic bomb of the first order of magnitude. James Finucane, testifying before the committee on behalf of the National Council for Prevention of War, saw the threat in even more concrete terms. Stating that the plutonium "ash," which under the revised law would be pro-

duced as a by-product at a score or more of privately owned atomic-power plants, is a prime-weapons material and the principal ingredient in our atomic stockpile, he added that the proposed safeguards against private-utility use of atomic fuel to make bombs are only verbal. "Might not there arise," he asked, "a larger, more sinister form . . . of 'gun-running to Cuba'?"

ONLY a week before the committee started marking up the Cole-Hickenlooper bill, Lewis L. Strauss, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, submitted a hastily prepared report on the social, economic, political, and international implications of the use of atomic energy for civilian purposes. The report was obviously designed to meet the criticism that neither the people nor Congress had been adequately prepared for such far-reaching legislation. It set the stage for the drive to turn atomic power over to the power trust without regard for the public's interest in low-cost electricity. Were it not for the great fight being waged by Congressman Chet Holifield of California, supported by Congressman Melvin Price of Illinois, both members of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, a shockingly bad piece of legislation might already be on its way to the President for signing.

According to Strauss, the A. E. C. strongly supports the Cole-Hickenlooper bill as substantially meeting all the objectives of Eisenhower's February 17 message to Congress. In his message the President urged that the McMahon act be changed to strengthen the defense and economy of the United States and the free world, as well as to encourage private participation in the development of peaceful applications of atomic energy. Strauss declared:

Continuance of complete government dominance into the period of major peacetime applications, involving as it would a basic change in the fundamental roles of

government and of private individuals and firms, could produce a change in our society as significant in its way as any that might accrue from the technical novelty of nuclear power. . . .

In order that the principal effect of realizing nuclear power may be to confirm and strengthen rather than to change our economic institutions and our way of life, we believe that nuclear power as it becomes economically attractive, should be integrated into the existing power economy of the nation; that nuclear power should be produced and distributed by the public-power systems and not by the commission.

This presents the basic philosophy of the Administration as well as of the authors of the bill. It is a position which allows for no middle ground between whole-hog federal and whole-hog private monopoly, although such a balance is the essence of the American system. The very casualness of Strauss's reference to public-power systems sharing in the development is revealing. For he admits that atomic-electric energy can be developed initially at competitive costs only in plants of capacities ranging from 250,000 to 1,000,000 kilowatts. Municipal and cooperative electric systems cannot be expected to undertake projects of such size. In Strauss's own words: "Much development work will need to be done before small nuclear plants producing at competitive costs can be built to meet small loads." Only with federal help can public-power systems be assured a share in the development of atomic energy. Neither the Atomic Energy Commission nor the authors of the pending bill envisage this as a desirable possibility.

Throughout Strauss's statement runs the theme that, for atomic power to come into its own, costs must be driven down through increased private participation. Furthermore, he hints broadly that, once the act has been amended, the government may reduce its own reactor-research and development program. He even suggests that the government may depend upon the private-power com-

LELAND OLDS, for five years chairman of the Federal Power Commission, is one of the country's foremost power experts. This is the first of two articles.

panies for the plutonium required for its military program. This recalls Finucane's warning. Every argument for the revised law strikingly reflects the Administration's determination to sacrifice enormous public benefits for the sake of a relatively small immediate reduction in the investment of public funds.

During Strauss's final appearance before the committee Holifield brought to light a proposed deal which reveals the fraudulent character of the Administration's shift in power policy. Buried in the Cole-Hickenlooper bill is a seemingly harmless clause enabling the A. E. C. to undertake twenty-five-year contracts for power supply in the Ohio valley. Ostensibly under this provision a plan has been prepared, with the bureau as sponsor and a Federal Power Commission-Ebasco Services, Inc., team as technical advisers, to carry out the President's first major move to curb the T. V. A. The plan calls for the A. E. C. to contract with two private-power groups bordering the T. V. A. on the South and West to build, own, and operate a 600,000-kilowatt steam plant near Memphis. This would replace a similar project for which T. V. A. had asked an appropriation. Theoretically the A. E. C. would buy power from the new plant as a substitute for the equivalent amount which it contracted to purchase from the huge T. V. A. Shawnee plant just completed near Paducah, Kentucky, which was built at 25 per cent less than corresponding private costs. Actually the A. E. C. would continue to take Shawnee-plant power while the big new private plant would deliver its power to the T. V. A. system. In Eisenhower arithmetic the government would save an investment of about \$100,000,000 in the new plant. In T. V. A. arithmetic the power would cost the government \$140,000,000 more over the twenty-five-year period of the contract and, in the end, the private companies and not the federal government would own the plant.

The A. E. C. balked at signing this improvident contract unless ordered to do so. But the President, apparently crusading against the "creeping socialism" of T. V. A.—a concept given him by a multi-million-dollar propaganda campaign put on by the utilities—obligingly supplied the necessary directive. There is still a hitch, for Repre-

sentative Holifield secured a letter from the acting chief of the General Accounting Office which raises the question of the directive's legality. But the difficulty will doubtless be overcome.

The hearings had already brought to light a fundamental split in the five-man commission with Strauss and Campbell, the Eisenhower appointees, in the minority. The division was emphasized when the three Truman appointees emphatically objected to a proposed addition to the McMahon act which would designate the chairman as the "principal officer" of the A. E. C. Commissioner Thomas E. Murray, New York businessman, voiced sentiments shared by the majority when he said: "A one-man commission under any circumstances or a five-man commission that in practice functions as a one-man commission would be dangerous." He also testified that members of the commission had been excluded from some major decisions and that there were instances in which they had lacked access to atomic matters. Subsequently the proposal was revised to invest each of the five commissioners with equal

authority, but not before Chairman Cole of the Joint Congressional Committee, sponsor of the bill, had indicated the incongruous possibility of an occasion arising in which a member of the commission might not be entitled to all the facts. With the expiration of Commissioner Eugene M. Zuchert's term on June 30, the way will be paved for the President to appoint a new commissioner who would assure Strauss a majority.

The serious implications of the proposed Strauss "dictatorship" became apparent when the Joint Congressional Committee took a look at the deal under which the A. E. C. would serve as the President's vehicle for private-power "containment" of the T. V. A. For the hearings revealed the same split on this issue as on the power of the chairmanship. Commissioners Smyth and Zuchert, in identical letters to the Bureau of the Budget, characterized the proposed deal as awkward and unbusinesslike and as saddling the A. E. C. with a power contract for which it had no use.

On the other hand Strauss clearly supports the President's attempt to carry



"Yessir—peacetime use of atomic power."

out, through the Bureau of the Budget, a private-power strategy directed at the ultimate liquidation of the T. V. A.

Senator Albert Gore of Tennessee, in a brief interchange with Strauss, put the whole shoddy transaction in its proper perspective. Stating that the big issue involved was not the T. V. A., but "the integrity, the responsibility, and independence of the Atomic Energy Commission," the Senator asked Chairman Strauss: "Are you willing to use or permit the use of the Atomic Energy Commission, with the atom in its hand, to impose your power philosophy upon the United States?" Although Strauss tried to evade the question, Senator Gore finally pinned him down to the reply: "I am perfectly willing to cast

my vote in favor of the proposal."

Congressman Holifield's attempt to save our public-power policy is backed by great organizations, representing tens of millions of Americans, which have sent their spokesmen to testify before the committee. The American Public Power Association, the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, the Cooperative League of the U. S. A., the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the National Farmers Union, and the National Council for the Prevention of War speak for many more voters than do the National Association of Manufacturers and the Atomic Industrial Forum, the spearheads of the private-power drive to amend the McMahon

act. These popular organizations would support any legislation to broaden the basis for cooperation in the atomic field with the peoples of the free world. But they strongly oppose the provisions in the Cole-Hickenlooper bill which by permitting the licensing of private development of atomic power without safeguards, opening the way to almost unlimited private patents in the field of commercial atomic progress, and allowing private interests to take over federal rights in the uranium-rich public lands of the Western states, would clear the path for an unparalleled control of the country's economy. Their testimony should have made headlines, but they did not. I am going to let them talk in my next article.

BALANCE OF TERROR

Weighing U.S. Policy . . by Arnold Bernhard

THE Secretary of State announced that it was United States policy to prohibit the imposition by any means of a Communist form of government upon the nations of Southeast Asia. The announcement was accompanied by the statement that if the dictum were violated, massive retaliation might be undertaken. This means, in effect, that we fire when we will and that the other fellow may be blasted off the face of the earth unless he beats us to the draw. If, in such circumstances, 5,000 atomic bombs could be 250 times as effective as 200, we might rest easy. But in the light of Admiral Strauss's statement that the newest bomb could be built up easily and at relatively little cost to a virtually unlimited degree of power, the ratio of the bombs in enemy hands to those in our own loses much of its significance. What counts most is who fires first.

How can the United States of Amer-

ica dictate what the form of government in other countries shall not be? Have we a right to treat it as aggression when a people overthrows an existing government in their own land and by their own efforts? If we presume that we have that right, we are in effect denying to other people the right that in the very beginning we took for our own. The United States developed out of a revolution against a colonial government. It puzzles us how the American people can stand on the proposition that a revolutionary movement toward a radically different form of government was good in our own case but would be intolerable on the other side of the world.

It is of the essence of the matter that the population of the world is increasing. The industrial and agricultural development of Asia is an absolute requirement, without which literally millions of people cannot live. If the Kuomintang failed to develop China, as was the case, it was to be expected that the people of China would become indifferent to the regime, even though it called itself republican. If the Mao-Tse-tung government develops China, even by means that are ruthless and cruel, and even if it calls

itself, and is, Communist, the people of China may be expected to support it. They must. They have no alternative except to rot.

We have read of the thousands of Vietminh rebels dying in "human sea" attacks on the French-held fortress of Dienbienphu. These men died on their own soil. They were not invaders. How, we wonder, can their victory, if it is finally achieved, be regarded by the United States government as an aggression justifying massive retaliation against Russia and China?

Of course these people are not fighting without aid from abroad. That aid, as Secretary Dulles said, comes awfully close to being aggression. But aid from abroad has always characterized revolutions of any size or importance. Our own American Revolution might not have succeeded without the help of France. Foreign aid was secretly given to the Confederate States during our Civil War. Foreign intervention certainly was a factor in the Spanish civil war.

Where the right of intervention on the side of revolution and against foreign power takes the form of open policy, as in the case of our Monroe

ARNOLD BERNHARD is editor and publisher of the Value Line Investment Survey, an investment advisory service. This article is based upon a fortnightly commentary which appeared in that publication on April 12.

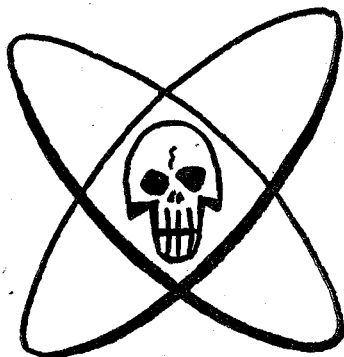
Doctrine, the moral justification lies simply in the fact that the people concerned are close neighbors. How, then, can we take the position that Asiatic nations that intervene openly or secretly in the revolutionary affairs of countries close to their borders are aggressors?

We read that our Secretary of State explained carefully to the people of South America just why we regard communism as a threat to the values upon which our social order rests. Communism, he said, is a system of government that denies religious freedom, that denies the right of free speech, that denies free elections, that denies to the individual the rights in courts of law that in our world are regarded as the inalienable rights of every man. We think that every American could subscribe to these strictures on communism with good conscience.

But, ironically, our Secretary of State voiced this condemnation of communism in Caracas, the capital of a country ruled by a junta of colonels, where freedom of speech and elections are prohibited, where severe restrictions are imposed upon religious worship, where, in varying degrees, every hateful characteristic of dictatorial communism flourishes except socialist organization of the economy. If we hate dictators, why do we tolerate them in South America? If we believe that freedom of worship and speech are inalienable rights of man, why do we tolerate their abrogation in countries close to home? If we believe that communism is evil in itself and that there can be no rapprochement in this world between Communist countries and democratic countries, why do we supply arms and aid to Yugoslavia?

If the Kremlin is allowed to extend its sway over larger and larger areas of the world, there is, indeed, a threat not only to our national existence but to those human values on which our civilization stands. But if that is the issue, the only way it can be met is by a positive program that offers the people of the world something better than communism. Our policy appears to be to offer them only a prohibition against something that they hope will be better than what they have. Their hope may be insubstantial, but thousands of men are laying down their lives for it, and men do not willingly die for no reason at all.

While no American in his right mind wishes his government to stop building up its arsenal of atomic weapons to the greatest extent possible, we can continue to work for some form of international control of all atomic weapons. Nothing in American foreign policy is so reassuring to the ordinary citizen as the knowl-



edge that we tried, through the Baruch plan, to establish international control of atomic weapons at a time when no one had those weapons but ourselves. The Russians rejected those offers.

We must continue to live, then, in an international situation stabilized, if it can remain stabilized at all, by the balance of terror. In such fearful circumstances the very least that the man in the street can expect of his government is that it state without hypocrisy and in the most straightforward terms the rules of the game by which it will abide and by which it will expect other nations to abide. If dictatorships are to go, do they go only in the other fellow's backyard, or in our own too? If freedom of the individual is to be respected as an inalienable right of man, does that go for colonial peoples in Africa and in Asia as well as for American citizens?

If our foreign policy consists simply of denying to the peoples of the undeveloped areas of the world the right to set up their own governments and economic systems whenever such efforts receive aid from Communist sources, then our policy is merely a hopeless interdiction. If our policy is to make it possible for backward peoples to establish a better system of society, freely and without their being beholden to communism, then we must provide the help they need.

We cannot help wondering whether the experts are right in assuming that Russian power is always extended when Communist governments take control of a country. It has been observed that the only people on the face of the earth

whom the Russians fear are the Chinese. It is conceivable that the Chinese might not remain subservient to the Russians even though they have adopted a form of government and social organization similar to the Russian in many respects. As a matter of fact, much evidence indicates that the Chinese would stand as a buffer against Russian expansion if they were not forced to depend on Russia economically. Eisenhower pointed to the uncertain loyalty of the satellite countries as a weakness of the Russian empire. There is much reason to believe, as in the case of Yugoslavia, that countries beholden to Russia for aid in bringing about a revolution will not remain subservient to Russian dictation when later they find their own national interests opposed to Russia's. There is no magic in communism that holds China loyal to the Kremlin, or that would hold Indo-China, or any other nation, except economic dependence. The American policy of containment of communism, therefore, which is based upon a negative concept, might even be judged to be one of the most powerful forces in advancing Russian power.

ONE cannot help wondering what would be the consequences if America, the land of the free, were to ally itself with the nationalist movements in their struggle for political and economic advancement instead of opposing them. If United States Military technicians, engineers, and administrators brought sympathy and aid to nationalist aspirations as well as the revolutionary industrial technology, we might win firm friendships in whole sections of the world where we are now developing only bitter enemies. If the rights of man were carried abroad along with the other blessings, it is possible that the most hated nation might again become the best loved and most admired, and the fears of Communist domination could then be set aside with less bloodshed than must be contemplated under present policy.

This interpretation could prove to be wrong, but the risks seem small compared to the certain disaster that faces the world if we set the hydrogen bomb, on which we have no monopoly, against humanity's desire for a self-respecting national life and the economic development that is required to support populations.

BOOKS

Theory and Practice of Peace

STRATEGY FOR THE WEST. By Sir John Slessor, William Morrow and Company. \$3.

By Mark S. Watson

OUR LITERARY peeks into the political-military future are rarely wholly satisfying. The military soothsayers—for all the theory that a soldier is essentially a bold man—are decidedly lacking in boldness when they write about the future. And the political soothsayers, however wise in the theory of policy-making, are habitually badly informed about the very essence of a good national policy, viz. the immediately available means of enforcing it.

A new and much-needed study of "Strategy for the West," by Sir John Slessor, is admirable because it is free from both faults. Sir John was one of the great leaders of the Royal Air Force in World War II (as head of the Coastal Command he had a major part in whipping the U-boat menace) and later as chief of the Air Staff he added to his large attainments in staff matters, with their dominant concern over planning for the future. More than most, as shown in his earlier writings such as "Air Power and Armies," he has knowledge of the theory as well as the practice of war, and of other arms than his own, and of a profound truth too rarely grasped by our own soldiers and planners—that victory is not merely thrashing an enemy but, far more importantly, of "creating world conditions more favorable to yourself than if there had never been a war." Certainly that aspect of victory eluded our own war captains in 1944-45, and it is a grave question whether at this moment we grasp the fact.

Certainly there is justification for

MARK S. WATSON, formerly military correspondent and now staff correspondent of the Baltimore Sun, is the author of "The Chief of Staff: Prewar Plans and Preparations." He received the Pulitzer prize for international correspondence in 1945.

Slessor's initial urging that in the free world's planning against communism's aggressions we find out, and remember, what we wish to achieve. If we do, he goes on, we must retain a free-world unity and sense of common purpose, must base strategy on spiritual values, and must avoid rushing at our objective "like a bull at a gate." We must escape the confusion due to thinking that all humans are alike and that only *our* forms and traditions are admirable. We must recognize that we have no mission to destroy communism, but a very definite one of preventing Communist nations from dominating other nations, whether by violence or subversion. And communism is not to be fought off by a Maginot-line policy of containment, but by a "consistent, politically aggressive policy which we are brave enough to pursue because we are strong enough not to fear."

Slessor is no Pollyanna, and no evader of the uncomfortable fact. He is confident that some day the world will reach a real peace, but equally certain that it is a long way off; that meantime we must exist for years in a twilight between real peace and real war; and that we will maintain that relative calm only by possessing enough force to prevent war—not *avoid* war, but *prevent* war by our own strength and determination. So plain-speaking is he on this matter of national determination that he says bluntly: "In the last resort we should not even shrink from striking the first blow, as an alternative to bloodless defeat."

This succinct approval of a first-blow concept (on conditions) will startle a good many, as will other considered declarations on the plain necessity of the free world's maintaining a superiority in atomic weapons, possessing an absolute readiness to use them, and making both facts fully known to the world. Is an atomic war a horrible thing to contemplate? Of course. But for that reason it is something which must be prevented, and Slessor's view (which is that of our own most competent mili-

tary men) is that it is the threat of total disaster to all, and literally nothing else in the present state of the world, which will avert that disaster.

Actually, he proceeds, war in any large sense has begun to abolish itself because the great bombs have found their way into the world's armories, and "the greatest disservice that anyone could possibly do to the cause of peace would be to abolish nuclear weapons on either side." For the great bombs make war "intolerable to both sides. And the outlawing of the great bombs would instantly restore the Russo-Chinese Axis's enormous manpower superiority over the free world, providing a probably irresistible temptation to World War II, and sure conquest of the free world. In the present Russia's reliability he has no faith, noting that in its thirty-seven-years' history it has shot all members of the first Inner Cabinet, all of the Politburo after Lenin (save Stalin alone), forty-three or fifty-three central organization secretaries, seventy of eighty council members, 60 per cent of all Soviet generals. He trusts Russia not at all.

Nevertheless he argues persuasively that we must continue to meet with Russia, but avoid all formal detailed pacts, seeking only general agreements for actions which are tolerable. And we must think of appeasement not as an opprobrious thing, but in its true meaning of pacification and reconciliation—by the strong. Always the strong, not the wilfully weak.

He does not see that China will always be a Russian satellite. How long will depend on the good sense of America and Britain in making a Western alliance more attractive; Russia need not be either underrated or overrated; it is not supreme. Meantime he holds that the West should aim at a comprehensive Far-East-Southeast-Asia grouping. It would be folly to scrap the United Nations, he proceeds, or seek to turn it into an anti-Communist alliance, but urges that we have the wisdom to make U. N. work—and not become despondent. It would first be well to adopt "an adult approach to the thorny problem of trade." He defends the 1951 decision not to bomb across the Yalu, simply because it would have hurt us strategically in all our Asian relations.

In conclusion Slessor offers certain

concise, clear recommendations beyond those basic ones discernible in what has been written. He stands firm for a continuance of the NATO-EDC concept (but, with some unmistakable doubts of EDC, he suggests rather an extension of the old Western Union of sovereign nations, to which as a mutually-defensive grouping he would soberly invite Russia and the satellites too). He stands for continued American participation in Europe.

Slessor also stands for German unity, coupled with assurances to France, and based on a belief that Germany never again can become an aggressor if America and Britain firmly forbid it. He stands for ultimate withdrawal of all occupation troops from Germany. He would search for ameliorating conditions acceptable to Russia. He would have the West so conduct itself as to wean satellites away from Russia. He would face the probability of East-West incompatibility for a long time to come, and against it would try to develop a "chain of Swedens," truly neutral, across Europe.

And above all is the provision that America and Britain, "the two great democratic powers who have in their hands the weapon of retribution, do not throw it aside, disrupt our unity, relax our resolve, and sink back into that same

FRIENDLY CHALLENGE TO THE CHURCHES

(Beyond selling space for publication of the accompanying material, *The Nation* is not to be held responsible for statements contained in the material.)

THE MEN who produced the new Revised Version of 1952 do not believe that the miracle-based Pentateuch is a trustworthy introduction to Hebrew history; and in this respect they represent the position of modern progressive Biblical scholarship. They agree with the late Dr. George A. Gordon, minister of the Old South Church, Boston, who said, "Slowly miracles have ceased to serve me in the evolution of my belief, in the moral campaign of my spirit" (*Religion and Miracle*, Preface).

"Miracle or evolution," therefore, is the antithesis, or dilemma, which organized religion is more and more compelled to face, whether it will or no. If the rise of Israel's mass-belief in one true God is not to be accounted for by supernatural transactions upon a flaming mountain in the desert of Arabia, we are necessarily thrown back upon a process of historical development in order to explain the religion.

Our young people, who are more or less familiar with the methods and results of science in astronomy, geology, chemistry, physics and general history, are graduated without any solid instruction in the cultural beginnings that underlie our conceptions of God and morality. They find, in the curricula of high school and college, much information about ancient and modern peoples; but they scarcely realize that there is a deadly academic ban against Hebrew history in the current scheme of general education.

When young people are exhorted to be religious, they resent the patronizing condescension of those who tell them what to do, but who are unable or afraid to face the dilemma involved in scientific progress that has at length led us into the heart of the atom. The always honest and sincere leaders in our churches must prepare to face the changed conditions that rule the intellectual and spiritual perspective of today. The situation is, of course, appalling, and cannot be dealt with easily or quickly. Suggestions about meeting the difficulty will be found in a circular that you can obtain free by sending a three-cent stamp to L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York. (One free copy only.)

blind, selfish apathy that brought us to the brink of disaster fourteen years ago."

A very thoughtful and stimulating book.

the time. He warns F. D. R. in the middle of things that if he does not win the court fight he may as well resign because he will not be able to do what the people elected him to do: "We will lose everything that we have gained during the last four years, and a great deal besides." After the defeat he notes sadly, "It looks to me as if all the courage had oozed out of the President."

Another year passes, and early in 1939 the Democratic leadership fails to squelch Martin Dies, who, as first chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, was experimenting with another technique that would be perfected in the 1950's. Ickes's comment has a hair-raising aptness today:

I cannot forget that Mussolini rose to absolute power in Italy as a result of a "Communist" hunt; that Hitler did the same thing in Germany; that Japan invaded China in order to suppress "communism"; that England has groveled on its belly before Hitler because it is afraid of communism. Dies can put his pieces together in the same pattern. It is not unlikely that as a result of his efforts a Communist scare will be fomented and kept fanned in this country, following which some man on horseback may arise

Ickes: Volume II

THE INSIDE STRUGGLE, 1936-1939.
Volume II of "The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes." Simon and Schuster.
\$6.

By Bruce Catton

THE second volume of Harold Ickes's secret diary—aptly named "The Inside Struggle"—is a much better book than the first volume. There is in it, somehow, more than the author ever put there. The hour in which it was written contributed something of its own, so that what begins as simple gossip assumes now and then the somber dignity of words spoken by a man who

BRUCE CATTON, a contributing editor of *The Nation*, is the author of "A Stillness at Appomattox," recently awarded the Pulitzer prize for history.

stands at the edge of descending night and sees doom taking shape in the shadows.

The recital begins with 1937, the year when the New Deal turned a corner—the year of the great fight to remodel the Supreme Court, after which nothing was ever quite the same. It was in that fight that the nation's press worked out an effective new technique—a trick, not so much of slanting the news as of basing the entire treatment of it on the unspoken but all-pervading assumption that any departure from the extreme conservatives' point of view could be due only to original sin willfully adhered to. In a sense, the 1952 election was won in 1937. The Great Crusade was bound to come, once the court fight was lost.

Ickes seems to have sensed this at

July 10, 1954

35

to "protect" us against this fancied danger. The result here in that event will be fascism.

Toward the end of 1939—and the end of this volume—there is another note. The war in Europe has come; America's own defense program begins to assume what will clearly be overriding importance before long; and "all of us have been greatly concerned by the inroads into Washington of Wall Streeters and economic royalists. . . . We wondered how far the President would go or would permit others to go in abdicating in favor of big business, as Wilson did at the time of the First World War. We had no illusions as to the celerity with which the 'big boys' would move in and take over control if they were not rapped over the knuckles."

New Books in Brief

Classic War Diary

MY DIARY NORTH AND SOUTH. By William Howard Russell. Edited and Introduced by Fletcher Pratt. Harper. \$4.

Russell of the London *Times*, who invented the art of war correspondence in the Crimea, arrived in the United States in the spring of 1861. He went south just as Fort Sumter fell, observed the wild enthusiasm for secession, interviewed many of the leading Confederate generals and politicians. Back in Washington, he described the panicky flight of the Federals after Bull Run in a dispatch that caused him to be bitterly attacked in the north although its essential accuracy was attested by those in the best position to know the truth. Denied facilities for accompanying the Army of the Potomac when the 1862 campaign opened he returned to London.

Russell was a superb reporter, assiduous in collecting facts, objective in interpretation, vivid and vigorous in style. He had a sharp eye for character and at a time when disparagement of Lincoln was fashionable he immediately recognized his "shrewdness, humor, and natural sagacity." His sympathetic sketch of the President is one of the high-lights of the diary.

It is good to have a new edition of this classic work which has never been republished since it first appeared. Un-

derneath everything else, of course, there is the fact that Ickes by nature was an inveterate gossip. It is impossible to miss the comparison with Gideon Welles, another gossip who kept a diary of great historical significance. There is the same consciousness of rectitude, the same haste to jot down the inside news, the rumors, the tales borne in high places; there is the same eagerness to prove a rival Cabinet minister wrong. (Welles's favorite target was Secretary Stanton; Ickes's was Secretary Wallace.)

But what raises the book far above the level of back-fence chitchat is the fact that the man had an eye for the big things as well as the petty ones. Reading this book, you can see the existing situation coming—and you can get a better understanding of why it came.

fortunately considerations of cost have necessitated much cutting which lessens its value for students even though Mr. Pratt assures us that nothing of interest to the modern reader has been omitted. Moreover the cuts, which are not indicated by breaks in the text, have been made in a way that causes many awkward transitions. There are also numerous typographical errors.

Politics in Art

BLAKE: PROPHET AGAINST EMPIRE. By David V. Erdman. Princeton. \$7.50.

This study demonstrates that every fiber of William Blake's art and poetry is saturated with politics. Blake sympathized passionately with the victims of oppression, and despised kingship, slavery, and war. Mr. Erdman shows that the odd books of engravings combining poetry and illustrations which Blake manufactured in his own workshop had a detailed and immediate reference to the struggle against monarchy. His simple, childlike lyrics and his soaring epic narratives express the same visionary libertarianism. The tiger of his most famous poem is a symbol of the divine energy which Blake saw breaking forth in protest against oppression at Lexington and the Bastille. In Blake's hands the conflicts of the French and American revolutions and

the Napoleonic wars were transformed into cloudy, majestic myths, full of action and emotion. Historical figures like George III, Pitt, and Washington became towering characters in a cosmic drama. Blake sought to do for the rise of liberty what Milton in "Paradise Lost" had done for the fall of man. Although the symbolism of his strange and beautiful books has always been elusive, Mr. Erdman now seems to have nailed it down by giving abundant evidence to show that its primary significance is historical.

The Only Jew in Town

DAN'L BOONE KISSED ME. By Felix Holt. Dutton. \$3.

This novel about Kentucky in 1845, though romantic enough, is not so cute as its kittenish title suggests. The story is of Pappy Duke Caldwell, a self-made man, suspicious of the blue-grass aristocracy but far more contemptuous of the "riffraff." Pappy Duke is so fearful of slipping down the social ladder he has climbed that he is morbidly class-conscious; he has made his sister an old maid rather than see her marry a suitor a shade beneath his position, driven his brother to drink and his son to rebellion.

The novel revolves around an event of great interest to the Kentuckians. A Jew has come to town; he is a far more powerful magnet than the foot-washing preacher or the itinerant phrenologist. The very notion of a Jew is strange, exotic, wrenched out of Biblical context and set down in the times of James K. Polk. From his advent Pappy Duke draws a favorable augury: Jews don't settle in declining towns. Others have heard differently: the coming of a Jew means a blight on the land.

It is Mr. Holt's virtue that he has not been tempted to depart from historical accuracy in describing the response of time and place to the Jew. Applied anti-Semitism—as distinguished from the attitude that hurled the epithet at Benjamin and Yulee while electing them to the Senate—was seventeen years in the future with Grant's Order No. 11. The author's Kentuckians are sharply curious, anxious to see a Jew with their own eyes; they stare, but not rudely; they comment, but even when the comment is ribald there is an undertone of respect. Even the party which accepts the blight

theory is not moved to hostility; the Jew may bring decay, but only as an instrument of fate.

It is too bad that this catalyst has only a walk-on part; as the focus of the story we could be more interested in what he might have to say than in the rather hackneyed love stories which necessarily are resolved happily.

A Minor Pleasantry

SWEET THURSDAY. By John Steinbeck. Viking. \$3.50.

"Sweet Thursday" is a minor pleasantry from a major novelist. John Steinbeck has returned to the never-neverland of Cannery Row, and the result is once again unpretentious but relaxing; a cast of intriguing eccentrics bound together by a loose and lazy narrative.

Of course, the times—World War II in particular—have changed Cannery Row. Some of its residents are gone and some, even more to be mourned, have turned respectable. The cannery plant itself is silent, shut down after years of immense activity demanded by a nation at war. There is no more fish in the neighboring sea, and therefore no cannining of them. This emptiness is reflected opaquely in the lives of Mack, Hazel, Fauna, Doc, and the other survivors of post-war Cannery Row.

"Sweet Thursday," however, is in no way a nostalgic novel. The boys in the Palace Flop House are still free souls; the girls at the Bear Flag House still have hearts of gold; and Doc—the vagabond Ph.D.—is still puttering around with his sea specimens, leading a life that would have turned Athenian philosophers green with envy. If Lee Chong

and Gay are lost, Joseph-and-Mary is gained, a double-named genius of immorality and one of Steinbeck's more fascinating creations.

For a time it looks as though the war might have betrayed Cannery Row into thinking about life instead of living it. "Sweet Thursday," however, is replete with happy ending, as Doc discovers a love for octopuses and a girl named Suzy. The plot is forthrightly sentimental; Steinbeck concentrates on characterization and gentle satire. Even the portrait of Joe Elegant, a pointed burlesque of the moonlight-and-magnolia school of novelists, is not likely to arouse the wrath of any reader. The book was designed to go nicely with a cool highball and a warm sun, and it does.

It's Happened Before

V-2. By Walter Dornberger. Translated by James Cleugh and Geoffrey Halliday. Viking. \$5.

The man who directed Peenemünde, the German experimental rocket station, describes in detail the development of Hitler's "secret weapon"; the fantastic technical difficulties which were overcome; and the even greater difficulties of creative scientific work under a totalitarian regime with its bitter rivalries and constant personal struggles for the dictator's nod, difficulties which in this case delayed an invention that might have determined the course of the war to a point where it was no longer a decisive factor. A lucid, well-written book. Of particular interest today is the author's account of the Gestapo's distrust of the scientists and its arrest of key men on suspicion and false information.

Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.

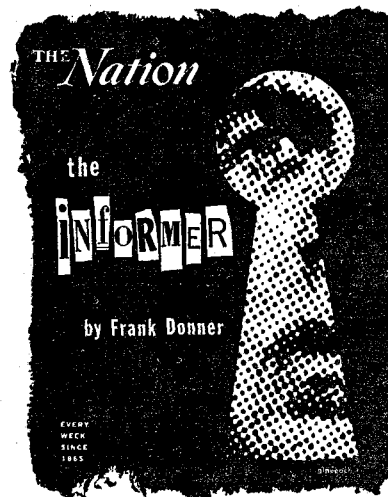
THE sculpture of Jacques Lipchitz, on view at the Museum of Modern Art through August 1, impresses through a combination of static weight and dynamic force. This very large retrospective, containing over 120 items, surveys work done between 1912 and the present. It has deservedly attracted interest and respect since it opened nearly two

months ago. Two collaborating institutions, the Walker Art Center of Minneapolis and the Cleveland Museum of Art, will display it in the fall and winter seasons.

Two colossal bronzes, *Song of the Vowels* and *Prometheus Strangling the Vulture*, are appropriately erected outdoors in the garden in central positions.

July 10, 1954

The Informer As "Hero"



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Though both castings are recent, the conception goes back to the thirties and the growth of both ideas can be studied in the exhibition itself. Each of these major works seems to me to occupy a position in the total career not unlike that of the Floating Figure in the production of Gaston Lachaise. In both artists a stupendous monumentality had already been achieved: not mere size or weight, but a scale to justify such dimensions and such a displacement. The result, as in much great sculpture, is to energize the basic and eternal sculptural principle: the existence of mass in space. Prior to the Floating Figure, Lachaise seemed to be yearning to lift his gravid Maillol-like masses off the ground. The contours increasingly assumed the shape of a flame, the supports grew even slenderer as the upper masses broadened out, and eventually these human images became, as it were, Michelangelesque beings engaged in the frenzied ballet of a Pollaiuolo. In Floating Figure, the self-levitation was finally accomplished and a new quality of freedom was attained.

In Lipchitz, the point of departure was Cubism, but not immediately, of course, for an artist born in 1891. The exhibition includes a rather Lachaise-like head of 1911, a strangely Maniship-like Woman and Gazelles of 1912, and several compositions of 1913 and 1914 in which potentially Cubist forms got diverted into neo-archaic decorations. By 1915, however, in such works as *Bather*, and in several Figures and Personages of the following year, Lipchitz was fully embarked upon a kind of translation in three dimensions of the two-dimensional art of Cubism. I have always felt there was a degree of contradiction in such a problem, to the extent at least that simultaneity seemed to imply a fixed point of view in the spectator which sculpture by its very essence denies. Some of Zadkine's Cubist sculpture seems to me to suffer from this intellectual paradox, but on observing the early Lipchitz works I am forced to the conclusion—and not for the first time either—that an idea about art can all too easily pull down a curtain between you and the work itself. In *Bather III* (1917), for example, I think we have the equivalent of several superb Picassos locked around a single invisible axis into an indissoluble unity.

During the twenties, two distinct trends made their appearance in Lipchitz's work: a concern with free-flowing space (as in modern architecture) and a very contradictory concern with sheer massiveness (as in the most ponderous archaic sculpture of Egypt, Sumeria, and Mexico). The work of this decade shows, accordingly, a very wide divergence, almost as great as Van Gogh's in the Paris period. In my opinion, the more conservative massive pieces have more intrinsic value than the "transparents" from which they differ so greatly; but unquestionably both types of work have strong connections with later masterpieces as the *Song of the Vowels* and the *Prometheus*. Actually, the divergence which I have suggested is by no means complete. If the black basalt *Reclining Nude with Guitar* (1928) is the finest work of the 'twenties here shown—and I think it is—its voids are as imposing as its masses; furthermore, the stark rectangularity of earlier Cubist figures has been energized by a free play of bent and sinuous, though still gravid, contours. The closest parallel in painting is perhaps to be found in Leger of the same decade, as for example in *Le Grand Dejeuner*.

The more recent work effects a synthesis of all these trends, exalted by tremendous architectural scale and suffused with passion. Rodin reemerges as a source of baroque energy, just as he later inspired younger revolutionaries who reacted against what I would like to call Maillolism.

I was glad to see, in the most conspicuous position that the overweening staircase of the Philadelphia Museum of Art affords, another full-scale casting of the *Prometheus*: a permanent accession. Here is yet another reason why Philadelphia, with its newly reopened Gallatin Collection (allowed to depart by New York University) and its Arensberg Collection (which will open in October) will rival New York as a center for the study of modern art.

A reviewer is inevitably drawn to "original" works of art without thought of expense or public availability (after the close of the exhibition). An unfortunate result of this practice is to give far too little attention to the graphic arts, through which even the greatest artists have always sought a larger public. Among many commendable efforts in this field, IGAS (International Graphic Arts Society) may be singled out on this occasion. Founded in 1951, IGAS has commissioned prints from many leading American and European artists, with results—to judge from the examples I have seen in museums in New York, Baltimore, and elsewhere—of high quality. As such work is available for under ten dollars per print (with a minimum of four prints to be purchased during the year of membership), it seemed to me worth risking the charge of advertising a product to bring a fine project to the attention of whatever readers this column attracts. For that matter, a chief function of any criticism is to advertise what you believe in.

Records

B. H. Haggin

CONTINUING one of the most valuable of LP recording projects—that of issuing all of Haydn's string quartets played by the Schneider Quartet—the Haydn Society has issued the six quartets of Op. 33: Nos. 1 and 2 on HSQ-19, Nos. 3 and 4 on HSQ-20, Nos. 5 and 6 on HSQ-21. Nos. 2 and 3 are well known to the public, and No. 6 is one I remember hearing; but most listeners will find the others as unfamiliar as I do, and should be as grateful as I am for the opportunity to hear them and go on hearing them. The

best-known No. 3 continues to stand out as one of Haydn's masterpieces in this genre; but No. 6 with its highly elaborated first movement and impassioned Andante, and No. 5 with its extraordinary Largo, its real Haydn scherzo, its beautiful variation finale, are superb works; No. 2 is very fine; and there are fine movements in Nos. 1 and 4.

I have referred to the real Haydn scherzo of No. 5, with its fast tempo, its energy, its play with cross-rhythms and contrasts of sonority, including the trick of having a loud passage break

off unexpectedly for a silence after which it ends not loudly but softly. The Schneider Quartet plays it superbly for what it is; and the movements Haydn calls scherzos in the other five works the Schneider group plays for what *they* are—Haydn minuets. The one of Ländler type in No. 6 and the profoundly reflective one in No. 3 could not possibly be played fast; Haydn himself marks them allegretto; and the Schneider group is right in obeying this marking rather than the designation "scherzo," as it is in playing allegretto even the ones Haydn marks allegro and allegro di molto. After such rightness it is surprising to encounter what seems to me wrongness: the group plays the first movement of No. 3 much more slowly than I have ever heard it, with a further slowing down for what becomes an over-deliberate statement of the so-called second subject; and what seems wrong is the effect this most brilliantly high-spirited of the six first movements has when played this way, as against the effect it has when played in the usual faster tempo. It can't be that the group is obeying the allegro moderato direction in the score; it must be rather that it is carrying out an idea of the music that it considers better than the usual idea; and I can only say the usual idea seems the better one to me.

For the rest—which is to say in their energy, their enlivening inflection of the four parts, their integrated operation—the performances are excellent.

My recent discussion of the Haskil and Demus recordings of Schubert's Posthumous Sonata in B flat brought me letters from two readers who reminded me of Webster Aitken's performance and asked why I hadn't spoken of it "when you wrote so appreciatively of his performance of the Posthumous Sonata in C minor some years ago." The answer is that I reviewed Aitken's performance of the B flat in *The Nation* of March 3, 1951, and reported that I couldn't accept what the quietly meditative opening section of the first movement and some other quiet passages were changed to by his emphatic pounding and distention, or what the scherzo became when he played it with an iron-fingered lack of the delicacy and grace which the music itself would demand even without Schubert's directions of *pp* and *con delicatezza*, or what this treatment made

of the finale; but that his realization of the slow movement was a superb achievement. There was therefore no reason to mention the performance when I discussed the new Haskil and Demus recordings.

There is a minimum cost for the best in reproducing equipment; and those who can't afford this minimum have to be content with the good that is less expensive. But my own recent experiences in assembling a moderate-priced set-up for the country—together with other people's experiences—have taught me that there is a minimum cost for the merely good, and have given me a horrifying image of the mixture of distorted musical sound with the various noises from cheap motors and amplifiers that many people know and accept as reproduced music.

Take motors, for example. I mean just assemblies of motor, turntable, and pickup-arm without automatic record-changing mechanisms (but in passing I will mention that the minimum cost of an automatic changer with an arm that tracks well enough not to erase what is engraved in the grooves appears to be the price of the Garrard Triumph). A year ago I suggested the Garrard manual assembly, only to be informed by a reader that the vibration transmitted by the plate to the arm produced a bad rumble, and that the arm itself tracked badly. He suggested getting a good separate motor and arm, and reported his satisfactory experience with a General Industries DR motor mounted on a heavy plywood base with rubber washers between the metal and wood where the motor was screwed down, and a Clarkstan arm. But my service man reported several unsatisfactory experiences with this motor, and a satisfactory experience with a Collaro manual assembly, which however was followed by unsatisfactory experiences, including mine. And so the minimum cost of a good motor and turntable appears to be the price of the Rek-O-Kut LP-743, with which I suggest the Livingston as the minimum in arms. But I should mention that the vibration from my expensive Rek-O-Kut T-12-H was magnified by the cabinet to a disturbing hum that was eliminated only when the plate was mounted on U. S. Rubber Company A-900 shock mounts.

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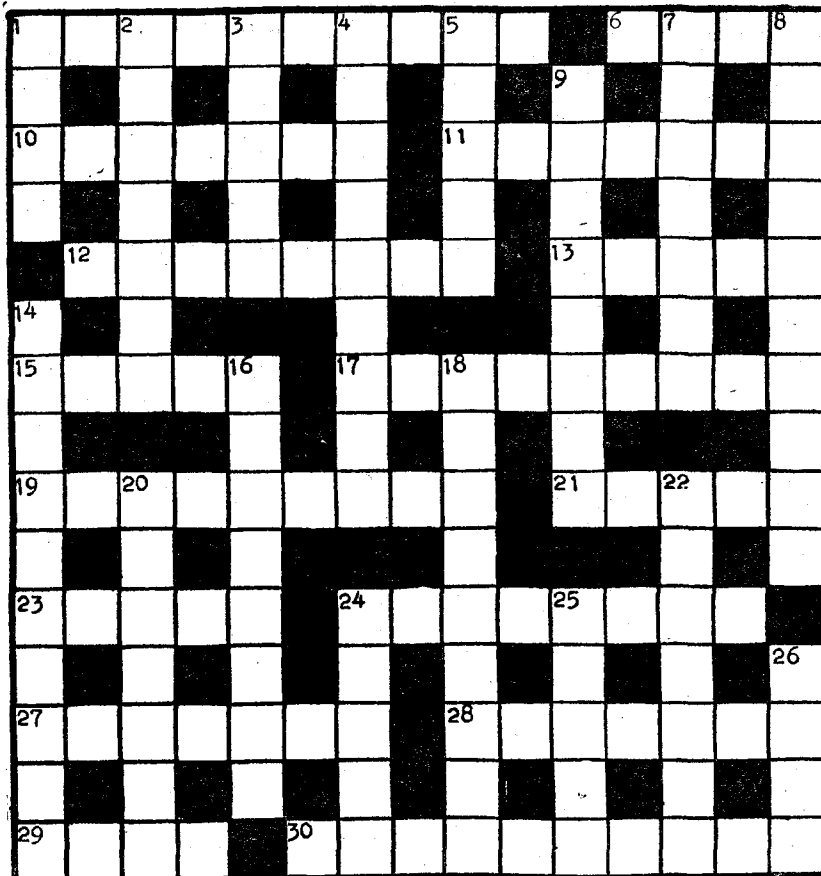
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Crossword Puzzle No. 575

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ACROSS

- 1 Talesmen? (10)
- 6 The way to injure one animal in thousands. (4)
- 10 and 11. Just one escape after another? (7, 7)
- 12 This support certainly doesn't suggest a lover's knot. (8)
- 13 Imposter which could be disguised as 25. (5)
- 15 Still trips, however! (5)
- 17 One of those things that necessitate your having connections; (perhaps someone will put in a plug for you!) (9)
- 19 Backwards in Ella, or Ella backwards. (9)
- 21 Famous head of a band is nothing more than 29. (5)
- 23 These people sound rather cheesy. (5)
- 24 Is, with the virtuous about to inflict punishment. (8)
- 27 Burn or build about a thousand. (7)
- 28 Get off the plane? (7)
- 29 The palace of Darius was here. (4)
- 30 Not exactly what Paris chucked about! (4, 6)

- 4 Enlarge, not quite so much as one who leaves his country. (9)
- 5 and 20. Steal crackers from country stores? (5, 7)
- 7 Greek. (7)
- 8 It might carry major articles rather than private property. (7, 3)
- 9 The word to pass them was part of a political campaign. (8)
- 14 What to do at the complaint window is part of the game. (5, 5)
- 16 His death was staged. (8)
- 18 Delve about the possessive article—it is irreverent. (9)
- 20 See 5 down.
- 22 Follows the down-beat. (7)
- 24 Pindar claimed it the best of healers, if good. (5)
- 25 An old clasp. (5)
- 26 The Atlantic, even when cold, contains it, as does 13. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 574

ACROSS:—1 BEGINNER'S LUCK; 10 OPOSSUM; 11 PROVISO; 13 ARMOR; 14 REPPELS; 16 FINDINGS; 19 LINGER ON; 20 ODESSA; 22 and 9 PETIT FOUR; 23 TELE- VISED; 25 DELILAH; 26 OMNIBUS; 27 COUNTERFEITER.

DOWN:—2 EPODE; 3 INSTALLMENT PLAN; 4 NOMADS; 5 REPLEVIN; 6 LEONARDO DA VINCI; 7 CHIPMUNKS; 8 DOCTORAL; 15 PUNCTILIO; 17 STANDISH; 18 SOFT SHOE; 21 and 12 FLY OFF THE HANDLE; 22 PADS; 24 SABLE.

DOWN

- 1 and 2. A stitch in time? (4, 7)
- 3 Papers which prove the admonition to leave none unturned was followed. (5)

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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THE AGE OF UNREASON

IN THE EARLY nineteen hundreds there was a young man who went to London in the summers and haunted the second-hand bookshops in Charing Cross Road. His bills for books were large, but his family did not protest them, thinking that books were preferable to wine, women, and song.

Some years later his young niece had the run of his books. She read what struck her fancy and no one censored her choice. It was thought that if she understood what she read she was old enough to do so; if she did not understand—what harm was done. This was an attitude which belonged to an age of reason, for the more a man learns of the past the better he is prepared to assess the present and to act wisely in the future.

We now seem to live in an age of unreason—an age when one hears the slander of many and fear is on every side. In this modern world the man in the street is a powerful individual. He holds the fate of more than his own country in his hands, for he is a danger to everyone if he is ignorant and a prey to hysteria. Today he is afraid of communism; but the history of Russian ambition is long and did not originate with the present government. He hears our scholars slandered and their loyalty questioned because they believe in freedom of opinion and the unfettered pursuit of knowledge. Is he unaware that this is the method of totalitarianism? While he must not be blind to the real dangers without, he must not let unscrupulous men destroy his freedoms within.

Has he forgotten so quickly how the world went mad in the 1930's when men burned books and

drove out their scholars—all in the name of racial purity and superpatriotism; when they denounced their neighbors and listened to the mouthings of demagogues?

Has he forgotten the Inquisition and its persecution of those who defied it? In 1632, Galileo's famous *Dialogue*, a passionate fight against any kind of dogma based on authority, was banned and Galileo was summoned to Rome by the Inquisition. Yet perhaps no other book had such a combined impact upon the thought of philosophers, scientists, theologians, and the literate of that day.

What happens in the future rests in the hands of the man in the street. He can sit back in indifference or in helpless bewilderment at what is going on around him. Or he can stand up and declare himself. By reading history he can see that in similar crises it was not until men of good will protested and fought that right and reason have prevailed.

The members of the American Library Association make it possible for all men to read books. In serving literature they also serve democracy. For knowledge is power. In the constant struggle for the possession of men's minds, we in the universities, the presses, and the libraries of this country must play our part. We have a common responsibility—to keep knowledge free and unbiased and available to all. We must have the courage to resist threats from all quarters and to prevent the demagogues and book-burners from taking over here. It is not just an academic point: it is a matter of our survival and the survival of the rest of the world.

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